1; Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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About the Authors

C. W. M. HART was born in Australia and became an American citizen in 1933. He studied at the Universities of Sydney, Chicago, and London; and has taught anthropology at the London School of Economics, University of Toronto, and the University of Wisconsin where he is now professor of anthropology. He was associate editor of the *American Anthropologist* from 1949 to 1952 and was recently elected president of the Society for Applied Anthropology.

Arnold R. Pilling, a Californian, studied at the University of California at Berkeley. He was a Fulbright Fellow to Australia in 1953 and 1954 and spent most of that time studying the culture of the Tiwi. He is now a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Wayne State University in Detroit.

About the Book

This is a case study of a system of influence and power which is based on a strange currency. The currency is woman. Newborn females, nubile marriageable females, toothless old hags — all are valuable in Tiwi terms. Because men compete for prestige and influence through their control over women, women have the value of a scarce commodity. Under this system there are no illegitimate children, no unmarried females of any age, and wives are either very much older or very much younger than their husbands.

A vivid picture of Tiwi life, as viewed from within the culture, emerges in this book. The reader is not made an outsider, left to peer into a dimly understood, formalized, alien way of life. Rather, he is taken inside the family group, by the night's campfire. He becomes a witness to angry quarrels, a participant in involved machinations aimed at success — as defined by the Tiwi. He comes to know individual Tiwi as real people.

This book is a study of social interaction. But it is also a study of culture change. Much happened between Hart's and Pilling's visits to the Tiwi. These changes are described, and we see them in the context of the period of Tiwi contacts with the outside world.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Stanford, California
December 1959

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Preface

HART WORKED among the Tiwi during 1928 and 1929, and in Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4 summarises the main aspects of their culture as it was at that time. Pilling's fieldwork was carried out during 1953 and 1954, and he outlines in Chapter 5 the contacts of the Tiwi with the outside world before and up until the coming of the first missionaries in 1911, and in Chapter 6 describes the modifications in Tiwi culture that have occurred since 1930. It is rare for two anthropologists who have studied the same tribe at widely separated times to collaborate in writing about them, hence it is worth mention (1) that the two anthropologists had never met nor even written to each other until after Pilling had returned to the United States in 1955; (2) that when they finally got together during 1957-1958 to plan and write the present book, they were both astonished at how little basic disagreement there was between them. Arguments about each other's statements have been numerous and prolonged, but almost invariably these concerned matters of detail or emphasis. The chief result of the collaboration has been the discovery, by each author, and exciting for both, of how well the other knows his Tiwi. This is uncommon enough in anthropology to be noteworthy. We are both grateful to the Tiwi for having brought us together and we are both impressed by the fact that the Tiwi who brought us together were the same complicated but delightful people, despite the twenty-five year interval in our respective sojourns among them.

C.W.M.H.
A.R.P.

Madison, Wisconsin
Detroit, Michigan
December 1959

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starvation level than was the case with many of the mainland tribes.[8] Even to talk about the Tiwi in near-starvation terms seems quite incongruous, for there was an abundance of native food available the whole year around and their only problem was to collect or catch it. We regard the development of their large multiple-wife household as essentially their own evolutionary solution to the problem of finding the most efficient unit of food production. Abundant food was there in the bush in its raw state; the most efficient way to extract it was by a work unit represented by such households as those of Ki-in-kumi, or Tu'untalumi, with the old remarried widows directing the young women and the hunting and fish spearing being done by the younger males.

Even the smallest households nearly always contained at least one old female veteran of the food quest who knew the bush like the palm of her hand and could wrestle some food out of the most inhospitable district. The only households that ever went hungry—and they only overnight or at worst for twenty-four hours or so—were the small households of only one or two wives, especially if both wives were young and inexperienced or young and flighty or both. Such households were uneconomic and were rare. On the other hand, the apparently absurd households such as those in which two young men shared their respective elderly mothers as wives, made good economic sense. Any attempt by two such young men to substitute two young wives or even four young wives for the two old ladies would have drastically reduced the standard of living of the household. When young wives arrived in Tiwi households they were not regarded as replacements for the old crones but joined as reinforcements and apprentices to the skilled workers—the veterans. The sexual aspects of marriage were necessarily subordinated to the housekeeping or food-production aspects, which is why in the previous section we spoke of every young man laying the foundation of his household by marrying an elderly widow usually long before there was any young wife in sight.

Since the bigger the household the more food it produced for its own consumption, there was a tendency for the smaller and therefore hungrier households to hang around the fringes of the bigger ones. Though every household was autonomous and could camp and collect food anywhere in the band territory in which it roamed, it was rare to find all the households in a band distributed evenly over the available territory. In Malau, Enquirio's household and that of Merapanui were usually to be found camped together, since the two men were full brothers and not in competition with each other. Also camped with or near them on any given occasion would be a few other small households. Such a combined group as this would, all told, amount to between forty and fifty people camping at the same spot and remaining together for weeks at a time. Under mainland conditions in most areas, a gathering of forty people for ten days at a time in the same locality was unheard of, except on

[8] As was pointed out earlier, the best-watered and most fertile areas of the mainland were the areas attractive to white settlement, and the tribes who inhabited such areas (for example, Victoria or coastal Queensland) were wiped out quickly. Most of the mainland tribes who survived long enough to be studied by modern anthropologists were tribes whose habitats were unfavorable both for native and for white occupation.

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Women were, however, a form of capital that possessed the power of talking back to the investors. As daughters or as wives they were quite thoroughly subordinate to the wishes of their fathers or husbands, and Tiwi wives were as frequently and as brutally beaten by their husbands as wives in any other savage society. But as mothers and as sisters the women were not coerced by their sons and their brothers. On the contrary, sons or brothers wishing to use their mothers or their sisters in their political schemes (typically when those mothers or sisters became or were about to become widows) could only do so with the active collaboration of the women concerned. Tough-minded young widows could drive a hard bargain with their brothers as to where they remarried, since each needed the other to make the remarriage acceptable to the tribe at large and to beat down the other competitors (the dead husbands' brothers, for example) who wished to control the remarriage of the widows. Young girls thus had no bargaining power but young widows had a good deal. Old mothers with influential senior sons were extremely powerful. Any affront to an old woman was an affront to her sons, and some of the strongest influence networks were alliances of several senior brothers, in which their old mother seemed to be the mastermind and the senior sons largely the enforcers of what the old mother and her middle-aged daughters (their sisters) had decided among themselves.

Thus, for women, as for men, age and political skill were the crucial factors in determining their position. Young girls were chattels and as such were passed around from husband to husband. But with increasing age, smart young women, especially in alliance with their smart young brothers, could control their own fate with some firmness, and if they and their brothers had a shrewd old mother (also with powerful senior brothers still alive) to advise them and support them, then the decisions of such a group as to where the girls remarried were very difficult decisions for anybody else to combat or oppose. Not as independent operators, but as behind-the-scenes allies of their sons and brothers, Tiwi mothers and sisters enjoyed much more essential freedom in their own careers as often-remarried widows than would appear at first sight in a culture which ostensibly treated all women as currency in the political careers of the men. No matter how males, both old and young, might connive, they were constantly aware that no remarriage of a widow could ever be arranged and made to stick unless the widow herself was agreeable.

In the limited space available, all we can offer are a few samples of how the influence game was played by a few selected individuals of various ages. Age was of great importance in Tiwi careers and therefore we select our samples from all the adult male age-groups. We have selected them all from the same band—the Malauila—so as to show as clearly as possible the interplay between one career and another for men of the same band. And finally we select men of the Malauila band for our examples because in 1928-29 it was a band little affected as yet by the outside influences—Catholic missionaries and Japanese pearl divers—which were beginning to modify Tiwi marriage customs among some of the other bands.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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After Cooper had established himself a number of investigators, Brown in 1905, Klaatsch in 1906, Spencer and Basedow in 1912, and Fry in 1913, paid short visits to the Islands, and recorded valuable information on the aborigines and their ceremonial life.

Following their departure no research work was carried out until 1929, when Hart spent a year or more among the aborigines of Melville and Bathurst Islands. But though Hart must have collected a great deal of data among the almost untouched aborigines of those times, he has published only two short papers on their customs. (Hart, 1930, pp. 167–80; pp. 280–290.)

Again there was a lag in time, except for a short paper by Harney and Elkin (1942, pp. 228–34), until Pilling in 1953, stationed at the Bathurst Island Sacred Heart Mission, spent over a year studying aboriginal life and social organisation.[1]

In 1954 the National Geographic Society's expedition established a camp at Snake Bay on the north coast of Melville Island (Fig. 1), and for six months studied the ethnology, the geology and the ornithology of the area. Although the National Geographic Society of America provided the bulk of the funds, Mr. John Bonython of Adelaide financed the geological survey of Melville and Bathurst Islands.

The expedition party of American and Australian scientists was an excellent example of international co-operation. It was made up of Miss Jane Goodale, ethnologist, and Dr. Carleton Coon, Professor of Anthropology, both from the University of Pennsylvania; Mr. David Parsons, ornithologist from Yale University; Mr. Brian Daily, geologist from the University of Adelaide; Mr. William E. Harney, guide, Mr. George Joy, cook, and myself, as leader and ethnologist.

Our combined research covered a wide field. Miss Goodale concentrated on the place of the women and children in the community, Mr. Parsons collected and studied the birds of the island, Mr. Daily, by an examination of the outcropping rocks, established the geological history of Melville and Bathurst Islands, whilst I, apart from the duties of leadership, concentrated on the art, myth, and particularly the burial ceremonies.

During their visit, Dr. Carleton Coon and his wife made a special study of the physical characteristics of the aborigines.

I chose Melville Island as a centre of research, because it was evident from the scattered writings of Basedow, Fry, Hart, Harney, Spencer and

[1] The Sacred Heart Mission was established on Bathurst Island, opposite Cooper's camp, during 1911.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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101 others that the culture of the Melville and Bathurst Islanders was markedly
●121 different from that of the adjacent mainland people.

It seemed evident, also, that this difference in the cultures was the result
101 of isolation for which two possible factors were responsible: (a) the natural
131 water barrier created by the Dundas and Clarence Straits (Fig. 1), and (b)
182 the inability of the Tiwi to cross those swift and dangerous tideways in their
501 primitive canoes. These canoes consisted of no more than a folded sheet of eucalyptus bark, sewn together at either end with strips of lawyer vine, caulked with mud, and strengthened at the gunwales with light saplings. The old men of Melville Island assured me that, before Cooper brought across the mainland wooden canoe (1905) bark canoes were their only means of water transport.

174 I am convinced, from my personal experience with similar canoes in
501 north-eastern Arnhem Land, and my sea journeys across the Dundas and Clarence Straits, that the bark canoes of the Tiwi were far too weak to have withstood the buffetings of those turbulent waters. Nor would it have been possible for the mainlanders to have made the journey before they acquired
[175] the wooden canoes from the Malays, which reliable historical records indi-
[177] cate was not before the end of the eighteenth century.[8] Previous to that time, these people would have had only a bark canoe similar to that used by the Melville and Bathurst Islanders. It would be some time, too, after the aborigines acquired their new wooden craft, before they would be sufficiently skilled to make that perilous journey to Melville Island, even
[609] had they wished to do so. Further, the Tiwi were notably unfriendly and killed anyone who visited their shores. It is likely, then, that during the historically short time that the aborigines of the mainland possessed the wooden canoe, their visits would have had little, if any, effect on the culture of the Tiwi.

From this evidence, it appears certain that for an unknown, and possibly
177 a lengthy period, the aborigines of the Tiwi tribe have been almost, if not
114 completely, isolated from outside cultural influences.

This supposition is supported by Hart (1930, p. 170), who states that, "It was impossible, in fact, quite unnecessary, for them (the Tiwi) to visit the mainland in their bark canoes, . . . Until the advent of white men, the Melville Islanders were not aware that any other people existed but themselves."

Foelsche (1882, p. 17), however, states that "The Melville Islanders occasionally visited the mainland for the purpose of stealing lubras (women),

[8] Mountford, 1956, p. 410.

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

101 Like other concrete things in this culture, the hordes have a multi-
621 plicity of names, and this has caused a certain amount of confusion and doubt as to their actual number. A full list of these names is as follows. The name most commonly used in each case by the natives themselves is given first in each case, as these are the names used throughout this account of the Tiwi culture.

1. *Tiklauila*: *Arupula, Matjulauila, Mulingabila, Tuyalimbila, Talpauila, Pilamirumbila, Aritui, Wayigui, Adauinabila, Payondigalawila, Pukuginabila, Primanduwila.*
2. *Wrangwila*: *Mungwaiuabila, Puianaruwila, Tintauwila.*
3. *Miggwila*: *Wonuruwila, Kaliprauigawila, Malamikwaringabila.*
4. *Malauila*: *Mirkalambila, Pulunduwila, Iwiriwila, Malamuyeringabila, Papiugabila.*
5. *Wilrangwila*: *Panodjiwila, Mirkawiugabila, Marawauila, Kambuyambila.*
6. *Munupula*: *Urumaiawila, Tunugabila, Imaluwila, Parumunupula.*
7. *Turupula*: *Yuyanduwila, Tikampula.*
8. *Yeimpi*: *Arupontuwila, Arangitarila, Palwiugabila.*
9. *Mandiimbula*: *Tumulambila, Tilambila, Urumaiugabila, Uruwinapila, Ilubiugabila.*

101 If Spencer's list[1] is compared with mine it will be seen that allowing
114 for our different spellings, his "Kambuambulla" are really the *Marawauila*,
621 his "Cherupulla" are the *Turupula*, his "Purumunupulla" are really the *Munupula*, his "Mindaluulla" probably mean the *Miggwila*. "Ulobu" (or *Ilubi*) is a place-name of a favourite camping ground in the country of the Mandiimbula slightly to the north-west of Cape Gambier; hence *Ilubiugabila*. "Marungallambu" similarly is a camping ground in the territory of the *Malauila*. "Barranpunalli" I am unable to trace; *Punali* (or *Bunali*) is, however, the name for the district around the English Point Alley. "Arangijerulla" is an alternative name for the *Yeimpi*, but I prefer to spell it *Arangitarila*, while "Balauiungambulla" is obviously a misspelling of the *Palwiugabila*, which is another alternative name for the *Yeimpi*.

121 To explain this multiplicity of horde names, and also to throw some light on the actual composition of the horde, I propose to consider one of the hordes in detail, taking for this purpose the *Tiklauila*.

[1] Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory*, 1914, page 45.

4: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 O120 Tiwi O120

PERSONAL NAMES AMONG THE TIWI[1]

By C. W. M. HART

[171] 551 THE Tiwi, who inhabit Melville and Bathurst Islands in North Australia, are in many respects unlike the other Australian peoples. So little is known, however, about the subject of personal names among Australian tribes that it is impossible to say whether in this respect also they are atypical. Among the Tiwi at any rate personal names and the [121] customs attaching to them play a very important part in the life of the tribe, and in this paper an attempt is made to describe this element of their culture and to explain it.

Every member of the Tiwi has not one name but many, each of which belongs to him or her alone and each having an equal validity as a term of address or of description, though naturally some are used more frequently than others. This is to say, although a man with five different names may be addressed or referred to by any one of those five names, nevertheless the normal thing is for one name to be much more generally used than any of the others, it being for a native, as for us, much easier to think of a person by a single name than by several.

553 602 The multiplicity of names is accounted for by the fact that quite a number of the relatives have the right to bestow names upon a new-born child and a certain proportion of them will always exercise that right. The father may always bestow names upon his own children, and the father's brothers, who are of course the classificatory fathers of the child, have the same power. The mother's brothers may also bestow names upon a child, should they so desire, and less frequently children will be found bearing names given to them by the older men of their own totem clan, that is not only the mother's brothers but also other

[122] [1] This paper, which was presented to Section F, Anthropology, of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science at the Brisbane Meeting, May 1930, contains part of the results of research carried out in 1928 and 1929 as Science Research Scholar of Sydney University, and with the aid of a grant from the Australian National Research Council.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

By Herbert Basedow, M.D., M.A., B.Sc., F.G.S., etc.

With Plates VII-XX.

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, and Honorary Fellow of the Anthropological Society, Göttingen; late Chief Medical Inspector and Chief Protector of Aborigines in the Northern Territory of Australia.

Introduction.

In August of last year (1911), I visited Bathurst Island to inspect the natives on behalf of the Commonwealth Government. Accompanied by one of my inspectors (Mr. J. H. Kelly) and a crew consisting of a Chinaman, a Manilaman, and three natives of the Larrekiya Tribe,[1] I left Port Darwin at eleven o'clock in the evening and entered Apsley Strait early the next morning. We spent nine days in the examination of the island, entering the numerous salt-water arms and rivers, effecting a landing wherever possible and traversing the island on foot. Landing was, in most places, difficult on account of the thick growth of mangroves that fringes the island on the east. It had been my intention to circumnavigate the island, but a heavy monsoonal gale prevented us from even making the attempt in the small motor-craft at our disposal. I therefore decided to return *vid* Apsley Strait and inspect part of Melville Island.

The plates included in this paper are all reproductions of my original photographs and coloured drawings.

Condition of Natives.

I estimate the population of the island to be about 500. Their isolation and, no doubt in a measure also, their reputation as being cannibalistic and treacherous in their habits, have guarded their primitive condition to the present day.[2] Before

[1] *Vide Trans. Roy. Soc. of S. Australia*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 1.

[2] Compare the statement:—

"Melville Island, about 30 miles north of Port Darwin, is inhabited by a tribe of which very little is known. They do not circumcise, and speak a different language from those on the mainland. They are represented as a very strong and powerful race.

"Before the arrival of the Hon. B. T. Finniss at Escape Cliffs in 1864, the Melville Island natives occasionally visited the mainland for the purpose of stealing lubras, in which they invariably succeeded; but they have not done so since. This tribe is of a very hostile nature, and on several occasions have attacked Europeans visiting the island. Their canoes and weapons are similar to those on the mainland." P. Foelsche: "Notes on the Aborigines of North Australia," *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. v, 1882, p. 17.

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

The Sons of Turimpi

C. W. M. HART
University of Wisconsin

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AS HAS been pointed out by a number of critics, most recently by Lindesmith and Strauss (1950), the personality and culture movement in anthropology involves, as one of its cardinal principles, the assertion that in primitive societies there is an essential sameness in the personality of the natives, or at least a very limited range of variation. The favorite argument to prove this view seems to be that since a culture "molds" all the individuals born into it into pretty much the same "basic" psychological shape, therefore the simpler the culture, the more homogeneous in personality are the individuals who use it. The critics have challenged this view largely on the ground that it has not been empirically demonstrated by any anthropologist. It may well be that far from being demonstrated by any anthropologist, it is quite contrary to the fieldwork experience of many, perhaps most of them. At least the "homogeneity of primitive personality" theory can to some extent be checked against a type of material which is possessed by every fieldworker, including the many anthropologists whose interests are not and never were in that rather esoteric branch called "personality and culture." The type of material to which reference is made is that unsystematic, very random, often implicit, but very necessary knowledge of numerous individuals in the culture which he is studying, which every fieldworker has to possess to operate at all. Just as no faculty member can operate very effectively on his committees, or for that matter in his poker games, without some working knowledge of the personalities of his colleagues, so no fieldworker can operate with much success in the field without some similar knowledge of which individuals among the natives are reliable informants, which are liars or bluffers, which panic easily or clam up easily, who is scared of whom and who beholden to whom, who are the leaders and who the yes-men among the native cliques, and innumerable other like pieces of knowledge. Such pragmatic knowledge of individual differences is not only necessary for good research, it is essential for the anthropologist's own safety and comfort (or relative comfort) in the usually primitive and sometimes dangerous environment in which he finds himself. In an African setting, for instance, it may involve the knowledge of who is a reliable man to go lion hunting with; in areas where the lending of firearms or the giving of liquor to natives may lead to trouble with the white authorities it involves evaluation of reliability or trustworthiness of another kind; in most areas where difficult treks, journeys, canoe trips, etc. are required, every fieldworker uses such knowledge in his choice of which natives to take along or whom to go along with. Such routine operations as these as well as the selection of personal attendants, whose house to live in, the discounting of information from some individuals and the high valuation of information from some others,

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

all these day-to-day activities of ordinary elementary field work, are, one presumes, based upon some common-sense judgments about the "personalities" of the natives with whom the anthropologist is living in rather intimate association.

Unfortunately the conventions of anthropology are such that it is just this sort of material which is never published and yet it would seem to be precisely this sort of material, if organized and systematized a little, which would throw light upon the amount of individual personality variation and the range of personality types which are to be found in the simpler societies. Too often the old-fashioned anthropologist, asked what he knows about the "personality" of his tribe, is apt to reply rather defensively, "Well, nothing much; you see I didn't pay much attention to toilet training when I was there, nor was I competent to give Rorschachs and T.A.T.'s." If, instead of being intimidated by the question, he would take the trouble to recall the ten natives he knew best (in the sense of knowing that is involved in the everyday statement "I know him pretty well") and attempt to describe briefly the "personality" of each of the ten, he would, one suspects, be astonished not only at how much common-sense knowledge he has of the personalities of the men he is describing but also at the range of difference that they exhibit.

As a crude sample of what would be revealed if the ordinary fieldworking anthropologist would make some attempt at "personality description" along such lines, there is offered in this paper a very superficial and cursory examination of the "personalities"[1] of five Australian aborigines whom the writer believes (perhaps erroneously) he got to know reasonably well *as people*, in the course of field work among the tribe to which they belonged– the Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands, North Australia. One cannot live with any tribe for two years, especially in the very primitive and intimate living conditions of nomadic Australian life, without getting to know certain individuals better than others, and two of the five men in question were not only trusted informants and advisers but also twenty-four-hour-a-day companions for weeks at a time. The basis of selection of these two, Mariano and Tipperary, is that the writer knew them over a long period of time and was able to observe them under a great variety of circumstances.[2] The addition of the other three—Antonio, Louis and Bob—is suggested by the fact that they were brothers or half-brothers of the first two, all five having a common mother, a woman named Bongdadu. The selection of a group of brothers for intensive study is justified in the present context by the self-evident fact that if, as is alleged by the personality and culture adherents, a common culture, with common toilet training, common family conditioning, etc., produces homogeneous personalities in the simpler societies, then such homogeneity of personality should be all the greater in a group of men who not only are products of the same culture but grew up in the same household, and were suckled, reared and toilet-trained by the same mother.

The Tiwi, who numbered 1,062 people in 1928–30, are divided into nine hordes or subtribes scattered over two islands. The southern section of Bathurst

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men markedly different from one another. Nor does that obvious fact seem due in any way to the circumstance that the observations upon them were made in a post-white situation. The presence of the Mission, the arguments about polygyny, the lure of movies and white jobs in Port Darwin, the coming of the Japanese pearlers—such factors as these obviously influenced a great deal the *cultural* situation, but it is difficult to see how they can be held to account for Mariano's vehemence or Antonio's indecision or Tip's gaiety or Louis' amorousness. Such things as the Mission, the Japanese, Port Darwin, were vehicles for or occasions for Mariano's vehemence and Antonio's indecision and Tip's gaiety, but they certainly did not cause them. These men would, one presumes, have displayed those same temperamental traits through other and more "native" cultural vehicles if the whites and the Japanese had not been there. To argue otherwise, that is that such differences appear in the post-white situation but are absent under pre-white conditions, would seem to be a most blatant form of ethnocentricism.

It is equally ethnocentric, though in a different way, to argue that our culture, because of its alleged greater complexity, is able in some mysterious way to produce greater variations in personality traits than other and simpler cultures. What complexity of culture does is increase the number of cultural alternatives or socially acceptable behavior patterns; it cannot increase the number of attitudes which an individual will manifest while choosing a cultural alternative or following a socially acceptable pattern. An individual in any culture will follow a "cultural course" but he will follow it cheerfully or sourly, silently or garrulously, in a relaxed manner or a tense manner, like a leader or like a follower, with his eye on the gallery or regardless of the world's opinion. These alternatives would appear to be human alternatives, since they are ways in which all men respond to cultural stimuli. Since they are human variations they will be present where there are many cultural alternatives and where there are none. They will be present in closed social systems as much as in open social systems. When a man in any culture in the world is practising a cultural pattern, he will still differ from his neighbors —or his brothers —in the way he practises it. "It ain't the horrible things you do, but the horrible way you do 'em," are the words of an old joke which draws attention to the vital difference between the things which a culture requires its people to do and the attitudes with which different people proceed to do them. The five sons of Turimpi all followed Tiwi cultural patterns reasonably closely but as this paper has tried to demonstrate they were far indeed from being "stereotyped personalities." They differed not in what they did but in how they did it.

It follows therefore that since simplicity or complexity of culture is irrelevant to the whole matter, we should expect to find, in any culture in the world, a pretty similar range of variation in what must roughly be called "types of people." If the personality and culture literature is leading young anthropologists into the field expecting to find "stereotyped personalities" in the simpler cultures, they are doomed to disappointment. Years ago, Franz Boas (in a passage that is never quoted nowadays) told them what they *will* find. "Some

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theorists," says Boas, "assume a mental equipment of primitive man distinct from that of civilized man. I have never seen a person in primitive life to whom this theory would apply. There are slavish believers in the teachings of the past and there are scoffers and unbelievers; there are clear thinkers and muddle-headed bunglers; there are strong characters and there are weaklings" (1951). It is notewofthy that this (for Boas) unusually flat and definite statement was made in an attempt to demolish the views of Levy-Bruhl that between civilized man and the primitive there is an impassable psychological gap. Perhaps—as Tipperary would say, if he understood the matter—perhaps, the personality and culture movement is merely Levy-Bruhl in modern dress, perhaps the latent content of the movement is to deny to the people of the simpler cultures the ordinary elementary human qualities of individual difference and human variation, thereby enabling "personality" and "individuality" to be treated as unique creations of the white races to be found only among the followers of the American way of life. If this indeed be the latent content of much "personality and culture" literature, it seems to warrant a flat and unqualified rejection, in terms as emphatic as those of Boas, by all those anthropologists who, like Boas, may not know projective tests but do know something about the simpler native societies.

NOTES

[1] In view of the wide discrepancies in the use of the word "personality" it must be made clear again that all that is meant by the word here is the level of description one is apt to get if in ordinary social conversation one asks the question, "What sort of person is he?"

[2] The native names of these men are all polysyllabic and difficult for the reader to remember. I use therefore the names bestowed upon them by white men, to aid in keeping them distinctly in mind. The Spanish names, Antonio, etc., were bestowed by certain Filipino carpenters who built the building for the Roman Catholic missionaries when they first arrived. Tipperary is, of course, a white corruption of a native name.

[3] It will be noticed by close students of the above information that Turimpi must have been born in the 1830's, Bongladu born somewhere around 1865. She had her first child when she was about 16 or 17, at which time her husband Turimpi was at least 50. This is a perfectly normal Tiwi marital situation, the commonest marriage arrangement being one in which a newly-born female child is betrothed by her father to a man in his thirties.

[4] Even from the anthropologist Dooley would not accept tobacco until he had convinced himself that in return he would not be required to sacrifice any of his principles. Nor would he take his son, to whom he was passionately attached, to the Mission station for medical treatment—perhaps the most striking proof of the uncompromising attitude that Dooley had adopted toward the Mission.

[5] Such a speculation about Mariano's personality at the age of 25, seventeen years before the author knew him, is based upon the general belief of social scientists that personality does not change much between 25 and 42, and the particular evidence of the older missionaries that Mariano was "already inclined to throw his weight around" when they first arrived.

[6] Goodenough (1949) is apparently one of the few anthropologists to discuss the relation between extra-marital sexual activity and the opportunities provided by the nature of the physical environment. The point here is slightly different; whether the Tiwi physical environment encourages adultery is uncertain since a social system such as theirs would promote adultery whatever the physical environment, but it certainly helps to increase the suspiciousness of husbands.

[7] That seduction has to be a daytime activity is implied in what has already been said. After sundown the women are concentrated in their husband's camp and have no opportunity. Which

7:Fry D-5 (1913) 1949 O120 Tiwi O120

A Bathurst Island Mourning Rite.

Sir:

Late in February, 1913, word came to 121 Darwin that a fatal epidemic was prevalent in Bathurst and Melville Islands, and I was instructed to visit the islands and do anything possible to help.

I arrived at the Roman Catholic Mission 122 Station at the southern end of Apsley Strait on Bathurst Island on March 2nd, and four days later, with the kindly assistance of Father Coudreau, set off up the Strait in a ten-foot sailing dinghy with a Malay, Matthew Gar, who had a smattering of the native language, two adult islanders, Mari and Dulin, a small native boy, Olinyarra, and stores. On the fourth day at Marinlampi, about two miles from Point Brace, at the northern end of the strait, a native camp was found. There were about thirty natives in the group, variously painted. 765 An old man, later found to be named Kerbo, was sitting chanting beside a small heap of red stones in the centre of a cleared circle about twelve feet in diameter. A pile of cooked yams was beside him and he was [177] scraping them with a mission-given knife. The time of my arrival was about ten in the morning. A small boy squatted beside the old man at times but otherwise the natives lounged about outside the circle indifferently coming and going. It appeared that a death ceremony was in progress. A woman sitting with her three boys under a pandanus palm nearby was pointed out as the mother of the dead man. When all the yams had been peeled the old man walked about in [595] the circle chanting and clacking two sticks together. There was an intermission until about 2 p.m., when the old man resumed his chanting. About 4 p.m. he returned again and proceeded to cut up the yams, placing

[p 79-A]

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Marriage Contracts Among the Tiwi

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121 It has become an increasingly common practice in recent years to reëxamine earlier analyses of kinship systems and, by selecting slightly different criteria from the ethnographic descriptions or by approaching the system from a different point of reference, to arrive at new interpretations and classifications. This has been particularly true of studies of Australian kinship systems, which have been a fertile field for reinterpretation ever since the day of Spencer and Gillen. Two of the many examples are the reëxamination of the Kariera by Romney and Epling (1958) and the reanalysis of the Wikmunkan by Needham (1962).

No one has yet attempted a reanalysis of the Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands for the simple reason that none of the original investigators has yet attempted a complete preliminary analysis. Spencer visited Bathurst Island in 1912 and subsequently published a few comments and a list of kinship terms (Spencer 1914). Hart visited the Tiwi in 1928-29 and Pilling in 1953-54, and their highly readable joint book (Hart and Pilling 1960) has brought the Tiwi into prominence but has not solved the theoretical problems raised by their description of the social organization and marriage customs. I, too, visited the Tiwi in 1954[1] and ever since have been continually frustrated in attempts to describe their social organization and marriage rules in conventional anthropological terminology.

I have long been convinced—and I believe Hart and Pilling are also so convinced—that the first step in understanding Tiwi social organization is an understanding of Tiwi marriage customs. Accordingly, this paper was first written as an analysis of Tiwi marriage contracts using the age factor as a major underlying determinant of asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage rules.[2] When the original paper was read, at the Tenth Pacific Science Congress in 1961, comments from the floor convinced me that fuller descriptions of certain aspects of Tiwi social organization should be included. After the paper was rewritten to include these aspects, the colleagues[3] who read and commented on it asked for more complete and different data, for each saw in the description different possibilities for abstraction and classification.

121 128 I have therefore resolved that this paper shall be mainly descriptive rather than analytical. The first section deals with a description of Tiwi marriage contracts with the main emphasis on the factor of relative age as an important consideration. The data, it should be

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emphasized, are presented from the point of view of a female Ego, for I strongly feel that it is only by using a female Ego that one can see the Tiwi marriage "game" as a "system." Following this, I present the kinship terminology together with some comments on the system of kin classification that are relevant to the marriage system. The last section discusses some aspects of the exchange of women between descent groups and local groups.

I am only too well aware that I do not have all the facts necessary to make a complete analysis of Tiwi social organization. It must also be stated that the relative-age analysis was a desk study based largely on what I believe to be logical deductions from the collected factual information pertaining to the age differences between spouses.[4] More field work is obviously necessary, and I hope that others who become interested in the problems of analysis and classification raised by this paper will comment and thereby suggest what they consider to be crucial areas for reinvestigation.

The Factor of Relative Age in Marriage Contracts

Hart and Pilling (1960) have described the dynamic nature of Tiwi marriage contracts from the point of view of a male Ego. My study supports their conclusion that for a Tiwi male the acquisition of wives and the acquisition of prestige are dependant variables. A Tiwi male will rarely acquire a wife through any form of contract before the age of 30. A bestowed wife, one who is promised before birth and becomes a cohabiting wife before puberty, is a valuable prestige symbol, but difficult to acquire. Thus a young man will frequently start his household with the acquisition of a less valuable but more easily obtainable type of wife, i.e., a widow, often of advanced age. Some Tiwi males never obtain sufficient prestige or political power to become involved in a bestowal contract, while others who are more fortunate may be involved in several such contracts.

My study of Tiwi marriage contracts from the point of view of a female Ego reveals some interesting differences in perspective. First and foremost is the fact that, while involvement in a bestowal contract is a cultural ideal, albeit rarely realized, for a male's first marriage, it is an inescapable norm for every Tiwi woman's first marriage. Thus, while this type of contract can be considered "preferential" but not normative from the point of a male Ego, it is acknowledged by Tiwi women as an inflexible "rule" governing their first marriage before puberty to a man whom they describe as "the one who grew me up, treated me like a father, and made me a woman."[5]

Thus a marriage contract for a man's first wife need not be—and frequently is not—the same as the initial contract leading to a girl's primary marriage. Furthermore, the form of the contract for a man's first wife is apt to vary considerably, whereas the form of the initial

5 [The Tiwi believe that sexual intercourse is the direct and only cause of menarche. Cf. p. 465, nt. 116 -- Analyst.]

10:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1962 OI20 Tiwi OI20

183 582 contract for a girl's primary marriage follows a consistent cultural pattern.

In any discussion of a marriage system all the varieties of marriage contracts must be considered. If, however, one variety is [121] found to be more frequent, preferred, prescribed, or invariable, then that is the one to which all the others must be related. In the Tiwi marriage system there is no difficulty in determining which type of contract should be considered basic to the others. The initial contract which leads to a first marriage of a Tiwi girl is prescribed and invariable and is thus necessarily the most frequent from the point of view of a female Ego, and it is also a preferred contract from the point of view of a male Ego. In the following discussion, I shall refer to this type of contract as a Type A contract. Types B, C, and D are all contracts leading to secondary marriages of Tiwi widows and will be briefly discussed later.

584 606 A Type A contract is made during the five-day period in which a girl is isolated in the bush at the time of her first menstrual period. Although she has been living with her first husband, she is separated [88] from him at this time. When she again returns to her husband's camp, she is not only considered to have reached the status of a woman but also that of a mother-in-law. While she is in the bush, her father places a spear between her legs as she sleeps and then presents it to a boy or man whom he selects to serve his daughter as a son-in-law. The spear is regarded by the recipient as a symbol of a bestowed wife yet to be born to his young mother-in-law. By accepting the spear, the son-in-law becomes obligated to his mother-in-law; from that moment on he must supply her with food and goods and such services as she may request at any time. In return, she is [582] held solely responsible for seeing that her first daughter is sent to his camp when she reaches the wifely age of eight or ten. After receiving the first daughter, the son-in-law is expected to continue his services to his wife's mother, in return for which he can expect to receive other daughters subsequently born to her. The initial contract continues until either the son-in-law or mother-in-law dies. If either fails to honor his obligation, however, the other may terminate the contract. A Type A contract is therefore essentially a contract between a mother-in-law and a son-in-law. The arranger of the contract is the mother-in-law's father.

582 The Tiwi, like the majority of Australian societies, consider cross-cousin marriage to be the proper form of marriage arrangements. For the sake of simplicity, I shall conduct the following analysis as if the preferential marriage pattern involved first cousins, although in fact it generally involves second cousins. For the purpose of viewing the system from the standpoint of relative age the distinction between a first and a second cousin is irrelevant. The question of classificatory cousins will be deferred until the kinship terminology is discussed.

The following analysis of Type A contracts in terms of the factor of relative age will show that the selection of a FaSiSo rather than a

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discussed the factor of relative age as a major determinant of unilateral cross-cousin marriage in the particular type of contract which is universal for first marriages among females and is also the preferred contract for males. I have also described several variant patterns of Tiwi marriage contracts and have shown that these cannot be considered as alternatives to the preferred type but rather as additional patterns which apply only to a woman's secondary marriages. These additional types of contracts are also, to some extent, conditioned by the relative ages of the participants, but the resultant form of marriage may vary from a continuance of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and even to marriage with certain relatives who are not cross-cousins. The wide variation in contracts leading to secondary marriages for women does not affect the continuance of preferred unilateral cross-cousin marriage or the exchange of wives between particular descent and local groups until the second generation after the variant marriage. Consequently, any change in the social organization of the Tiwi brought about by variations in marriage contracts is a gradual change, but it is also an inevitable and accepted form of change. The Tiwi rightly consider that as individuals they have considerable freedom in the selection of mates from almost any descent and local group and even from among a number of categories of kinsmen. Their Ego-oriented marriage system provides both stability and flexibility, and this is reflected in their system of kin classification.

NOTES

1. The field work on which this paper is based was undertaken in 1954 at the Snake Bay Native Settlement on Melville Island and was jointly financed by the National Geographic Society and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
2. In 1959, I used the relative age of spouses in a preliminary analysis of Tiwi unilateral cross-cousin marriage (Goodale 1959). It was with considerable pleasure that I found that a similar analysis by Rose (1960) had quite independently arrived at the same conclusions. Even more interesting was the fact that in cases where I had to calculate expected ages for many of my kin relations, Rose, with more complete age data, could give the average and range in ages for the same relatives, and that in most cases his "average" and my "estimated" ages were the same or within one or two years of one another.
3. For their valuable comments, criticisms, and advice I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to Robbins Burling, Ward H. Goodenough, Edward B. Harper, Barbara S. Lane, and George P. Murdock.
4. Unfortunately, since the only age data collected in the field were for husbands and wives, I have had to use expected ages rather than average or mean ages throughout most of this paper (see note 2 above).
5. The Tiwi believe that sexual intercourse is the direct and only cause of menarche.

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